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though a law of May 6, 1799, touched the subject slightly, and the Council of Five Hundred had the matter of a complete revision of the various laws before it when its sessions were terminated by Bonaparte.

M. Caron's study shows clearly the immense difficulty the government was under in enacting any satisfactory legislation to meet the situation. Some of the earlier laws were hastily passed, and in some cases only for a short period in order to meet an emergency, as for example the laws suspending the payments of debts. Laws like these made confusion worse confounded. The law of December 3, 1795, Caron says, "incommoded business" and "paralyzed commerce". Again, when the mandats were created, the legislators thought that they were through with their difficulties. Mandats were as good as specie, they asserted, and therefore it was sufficient to enact that all debts should be paid in mandats or in specie. After their long experience with paper money, they were so simple as to believe that the mandats would not depreciate. Less than a month disabused them of this confidence, and they saw themselves compelled to begin all over again.

The second division of M. Caron's introduction is devoted to the law which decreed the compilation of the tables here reprinted. This law was passed June 23, 1797. M. Caron considers the provisions of the law, the manner in which the tables were drawn up, and the results as to their accuracy. The central authorities of each department, assisted by fifteen business men, drew up the tables. They were made out to cover the dates from January 1, 1791, to July 17, 1796. The authorities of the departments were to determine the depreciation of the paper money for each month in that period by using a table of such depreciation made up by the Treasury at Paris, comparing this with any such table as the department might have kept, and with the prices of real estate, food, and merchandise at each of the several dates. The task was extremely difficult. In some cases the statistics on which the calculation was to be made could not be secured; again, in regard to certain dates, the department of the Aube, and presumably other departments as well, fixed a figure for the depreciation arbitrarily. The resulting tables naturally show an enormous variation in the value of assignats in the various departments at the same date. Indeed the tables do not pretend to show more than an approximation to the actual depreciation, a fact which must be remembered by students who undertake to make use of them.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

Napoléon et la Catalogne, 1808-1814. La Captivité de Barcelone (Février 1808-Janvier 1810). Par PIERRE CONARD, Ancien Élève de l'École Normale Supérieure, Docteur ès Lettres. [Bibliothèque de la Fondation Thiers, Fascicule XVIII.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1909. Pp. xlv, 474.)

Napoléon et la Pologne, 1806-1807. D'après les Documents des Archives Nationales et des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. Par MARCEL HANDELSMAN de Varsovie. Approuvée par M. le professeur MEYER v. KNONAU. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1909. Pp. iv, 280.)

M. CONARD's original design was "d'étudier le rôle des Français dans la transformation de l'Espagne et de mesurer, pour ainsi dire, l'importance de l'influence française dans la péninsule au temps du roi Joseph"; this design was reduced by a closer acquaintance with the material to that of furnishing "une petite contribution à l'étude du régime française en Espagne". The reasons for finally selecting Catalonia are stated to have been the fact that the material for the Napoleonic history of this region is practically all to be found in the archives at Paris, that during this period "la Catalogne a eu sa vie propre, presque particulière", and that Napoleon aimed to annex it. It is evident at a glance that the study of the rôle of the French in the transformation of Spain might well assume terrifying proportions in M. Conard's mind, since the present stout volume comprises only two years of the occupation in one corner of the kingdom.

Nevertheless the student of the Napoleonic empire can have no quarrel with M. Conard but may rather hope that his admirable spirit and conscientious methods may inspire other laborers in such neglected corners. For he has furnished us with a study that is in its kind a model and almost beyond reproach; one would despair of gleaning after M. Conard and he constantly brings home to us the way and degree in which exhaustive work in a limited field can throw light upon general conditions. The critical studies of the primary sources in the preface and appendixes are of very unusual merit, and the former especially, with its acute analyses of classes of documents and its suggestions as to comparative values, will be of service to all students of the Napoleonic archival material. The rather surprising statement that the material for this study is almost entirely in the French archives is shown to be based upon an exhaustive search in Catalonia itself—a search establishing the conviction that "les relations entre le gouvernement censé Joséphiste de Catalogne et le gouvernement central furent presque nulles" and that though the municipal changes can be studied to advantage in a few places the French on their departure destroyed or removed practically all documents of general interest.

The author's critical acumen and good judgment are not confined to the studies above cited but appear throughout in such a way as to inspire entire confidence in his use of his material. Good examples are the remark (p. 33, note) with reference to the genesis of the invasion of Spain: "Rien n'est plus difficile que de déterminer de quand date un projet napoléonien; car l'Empereur n'admettait les personnes de son entourage à la connaissance de ses desseins qu'à partir du moment où il avait besoin de leur concours et dans la mesure seulement où cela

lui était nécessaire", and in the doubts he raises (p. 65, note) as to the value of the reports sent to the emperor when the conditions were not of a kind to please him or support his plans. M. Conard does not go out of his way to recapitulate or discuss events beyond his own field, but he keeps the general situation well in view and constantly casts light upon it. The conditions special to Catalonia are clearly set forth, but we nevertheless feel that we are adding much to our knowledge of the nature of the national rising, of the defects of the French methods, of the faults in the French military organization and discipline, of the decline in the quality of the troops (in Catalonia they were largely German and Italian, and we see how that general deterioration through the increase of foreign levies is now setting strongly in), of the confusion and lack of co-operation between civil and military authorities, of the absence of general control in Spain and the practical neglect of the imperial orders, of the nature of the military oppression and the ruin caused by the occupation. It is shown that though Napoleon was far from being in such close touch with the situation as he supposed he yet cannot escape the chief responsibility in view of the fact that he had proceeded deliberately on the principle of terrorizing the Spaniards. It was in vain that later the imperial administration sought to make scapegoats of the provincial commanders; "*Le vrai responsable de la ruine de Barcelone, de la désertion d'Ampurdan, de la misère et de l'exaspération des Catalans était Napoleon*" (p. 384).

The author's plan is indicated by the chapter-headings: *La Catalogne en 1808; Les Catalans et l'Intrusion Française; Les Nécessités Militaires et le Gouvernement Improvisé; Le Roi Joseph et le Gouvernement Improvisé; Les Finances du Gouvernement Improvisé; Les Mesures de Sûreté et la Police du Gouvernement Improvisé; Les Résultats et les Responsabilités du Régime*. There is appended a map of Catalonia and a good index.

The dissertation of M. Handelsman takes us to the remotest north-eastern corner of the empire and the author approaches his task much more from the European point of view than in the case of M. Conard's study. The result is creditable both to M. Handelsman and to Professor Meyer von Knonau and though not without blemish may legitimately arouse high expectations as to future work. The young author has already indeed a formidable list of titles to his credit and wields the pen of an experienced and effective writer, endowed with greater gifts of presentation perhaps than is M. Conard. He aims here "*de tracer un tableau politique de la Pologne qui doit servir de fond à l'action de Napoléon, figurer l'objet de ses rapports et de sa politique et faire ressortir les causes et le cours d'une révolution nationale*". On the whole this aim is well attained and in all parts of the study dealing directly with Polish conditions we find serious contributions to our knowledge; the importance of the contribution in the wider field indicated by the title (and especially aimed at by the writer) is less manifest. But the Napoleonic policy is at all times clearly and convincingly set forth, and little

doubt can remain both as to the entire absence during this period of any intention of restoring Poland, and of the cold duplicity with which the emperor manipulated the Polish aspirations and movements as pawns in the diplomatic game with Prussia and Russia.

As hinted above M. Handelsman's work is not without blemish. His claim to be presenting "le premier essai . . . d'une définition scientifique des rapports de Napoléon et de la Pologne" exposes him to special attention on the score of technique, and it is disappointing to find that here his treatise is much more open to criticism than is the more modest one of M. Conard. Instead of a full critical description of the primary material used we have only a brief enumerating note in the preface and a list of uncommented titles as appendix. Pages 177-257 are occupied by selections from the *inédit* (presumably), and while we have reason to be grateful for this important addition to the accessible material, we regret to find the documents printed without annotation of any kind, without any indication of the completeness with which they are inserted, and without any references to the portions of the text that they illustrate. We are frequently in doubt as to *provenance* and are for the most part left entirely without that personal data that is so thoroughly supplied by M. Conard. This defect is of course particularly serious with regard to material of so inaccessible a sort as that in the Polish language (M. Handelsman prints only French translations). The use of the sources throughout the study seems for the most part thorough and worthy of confidence; but there are some lapses, as when (p. 6) the author depends for an important statement put into the mouth of Napoleon on a memoir (Comeau) apparently known to him only through a recent secondary writer (Lorraine Petre), or when (p. 13) he modifies a quotation from a letter of the emperor by italicizing without warning to the reader.

These are not serious blots on the work of a young writer. The treatment as a whole shows thorough mastery of the material and unusual powers of presentation, and is free from any appearance of overladen or indiscriminate research. Having traced the development in the autumn of 1806 of the attitude of Napoleon to the Poles, M. Handelsman presents a very instructive review of Polish internal conditions under the Prussian government and during the early French occupations as preliminary to a following of the part played by the Polish question in the development of the peace of Tilsit. In regard to the general situation and the interview between the sovereigns at Tilsit the ordinary secondary authorities are used. As to the question of Poland M. Handelsman does not entirely accept the contention of Schilder that the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw is to be attributed to Alexander rather than to Napoleon, but advances instead, with sufficient evidence to render it plausible, the hypothesis that Napoleon offered Poland to Alexander under the condition that Silesia should be assigned to Jerome, that Alexander's relations to Prussia made it impossible for

him to agree to this, and that finally the czar accepted freely a proposition advanced by Napoleon as intended especially to establish a barrier state between the French and Russian empires. "Le Duché devait être en somme l'œuvre d'un compromis, le résultat des divergences d'intérêts dynastiques et d'actualités diplomatiques, mais la paternité de cette création devait revenir à Napoléon et à personne d'autre" (p. 132).

The study concludes with a careful examination of the organization of the Grand Duchy under "une forme politique absolument nouvelle"; the force of this description is not manifest, as on the author's own showing it was simply an imitation of the Napoleonic combination of autocratic monarchy and parliamentary forms. It is perhaps to be regretted that M. Handelsman did not undertake his study more from the same point of view as M. Conard, as in that case he would probably have developed more thoroughly the Polish material (the work was done almost wholly in the French archives and the Polish material cited has the appearance of being fragmentary), and have been led to the later administrative history of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. This difference of point of view in these cases is as instructive as the difference of method, and these treatises might perhaps well serve as an object lesson for those entrusted with the direction of youthful research in the field of history.

VICTOR COFFIN.

Napoléon et le Roi Murat, 1808-1815. Par ALBERT ESPITALIER.
(Paris: Perrin et Cie. 1910. Pp. vi, 519.)

THIS book is an exposition of personality rather than of events. Four causes have produced, during the past fifteen years, a considerable literature upon Murat, his wife, his kingdom, and his execution. As a matter of family pride, his descendants are publishing his correspondence, which the fourth volume brings down to 1806; and they have sought to clear his reputation in *Murat, Lieutenant de l'Empereur en Espagne* (reviewed in this journal, III. 363). The interest in the family of Napoleon has brought Murat and his wife within the scope of the investigations of Napoleonic scholars like Masson and Baron Lumbroso, and of more popular writers like Turquan. The psychological and tragic interest in his abandonment of Napoleon, his relations with Austria, and his execution at Pizzo in 1815 has added works by Sassenay, Schirmer, Weil, and Lumbroso to the older ones on the same subject. Finally, the interest in the history of the Risorgimento has attracted Italian writers, and has produced the only important work in English since the translation of Colletta's well-known history of Naples, namely, Professor R. M. Johnston's *Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy and the Rise of the Secret Societies* (2 vols., 1904). There also have been published memoirs or biographies of several of the soldiers and officials associated with Murat in Naples. Not a few articles have appeared in historical periodicals, and during the past year M. Vandal has been contributing "Le Roi et la Reine de Naples" to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.